Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5148

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION USNATO

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

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CORRECTED COPY (LINE ADDED TO PARA 2)

E.O. 11652 XGDS-1 TAGS: PEPR, SP, US

SUBJECT: UCD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBEES ON NATO

1. SUMMARY: UCD COORDINATION SECRETARY ARIAS SALGADO ON JUNE 27 BECAME THE FIRST UCD LEADER TO OUR KNOWLEDGE TO ALLUDE EXPLICITLY TO THE "NECESSSTY" OF FINDING A FORMULA FOR SPANISH NATO MEMBERSHIP "WITH WHICH THEY (THE LEFT) WOULD NOT RADICALLY DISAGREE." UCD INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY JAVIER RUPEREZ, IN A PRIVATE JUNE 28 CONVERSATION, DISAGREED WITH ARIAS SALGADO'S AAPROACH, WHICH HE BELIEVED PERMITTED THE PSOE AND PCE OVERLY TO CONDITION SPANISH ACCESSION. THIS DISAGGEEMENT INDICATES AGAIN THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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SUAREZ HAS YET TO MAKE HIS DECISION ON THE NATO QUESTION, OR AT LEAST TO COMMUNICATE IT TO HIS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE. END SUMMARY.

2. SPEAKING TO A JUNE 27 MEETING OF MADRID'S DIILOMATIC CLUB, UCD SECRETARY FOR COORDINATION RAFAEL ARIAS SALGADO WAS MORE EXPLICIT ABOUT THE POSSIBLE MODALITIES

FOR REACHING THE DECISION ON SPANISH NATO MEMBERSHIP THAN OTHER GOVT/UCD LEADERS (EXCEPT RUPEREZ) HAVE BEEN. ACCORDING TO ARIAS SALGADO, UCD CONTINUES TO SUPPORT SPANISH ACCESSION TO THE ALLIANCE, AND BELIEVES THAT THE PARTIES SHOULD INCLUDE IN THEIR NEXT ELECTORAL PLATFORMS THEIR POSITIONS ON THE NATO ISSUE. UCD, WHICH ARIAS SALGADO FELT CERTAIN WOULD WIN THE NEXT ELECTIONS, WHENEVER THEY WERE HELD, WOULD THEN CONSIDER ITS VICTORY A MANDATE TO PUSH FORWARD WITH SPANISH ACCESSION.

- 3. UCD WOULD NOT, HOWEVER, ATTEMPT EVEN AFTER ELECTIONS TO RAM THROUGH A PRO-NATO VOTE IN THE PARLIAMENT OVER THE RESISTANCE OF THE LEFT PARTIES, THE PSOE AND THE PCE. INSTEAD, AND BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A BASIC POLITICAL CONSENSUS, UCD WOULD CONSULT WITH THE PSOE AND PCE TO FIND A FORMULA FOR SPANISH NATO MEMBERSHIP "WITH WHICH THEY WOULD NOT RADICALLY DISAGREE." ARIAS SALGADO REITERATED THIS FORMULATION LATER IN THE MEETING, IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM A SOVIET DIPLOMAT IN ATTENDANCE.
- 4. WHEN THIS MATTER WAS SUBSEQUENTLY RAISED BY ADCM AND POL/MIL COUNSELOR WITH UCD INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY JAVIER RUPEREZ, WHO HAS SUPPORTED FULL SPANISH NATO MEMBERSHIP, AND SCHEDULING OF THE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE CONFIDENTIAL.

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THIS FALL. SOON AFTER THE CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM. RUPEREZ CONFIRMED HE DID NOT AGREE WITH ARIAS SALGADO THAT UCD SHOULD WAIT UNTIL AFTER THE NEXT ROUND OF ELECTIONS TO RAISE THE NATO ISSUE IN PARLIAMENT. (HE APPARENTLY HAD HAD NO FOREWARNING OF ARIAS SALGADO'S INTENT TO ANNOUNCE SUCH A POSITION.) RUPEREZ ALSO DID NOT SHARE ARIAS SALGADO'S VIEW OF THE NECESSITY OF REACHING SOME MEETING OF THE MINDS WITH THE LEFT, BELIEVING INSTEAD THAT UCD SHOULD MOVE AHEAD ON THE NATO OUESTION. WITHTHE SUPPORT OF THOSE WHO ARE NATURAL ALLIES ON THIS ISSUE: THE CATALAN AND BASQUE MINORITIES AND FRAGA'S AP. FINALLY, RUPEREZ AGREED WITH US THAT ANY ATTEMPT AT INCOMPLETE SPANISH INTEGRATION IN THE ALLIANCE -- WHICH MAY HAVE BEEN WHAT ARIAS SALGADO WAS IMPLYING -- SIMPLY WAS NOT VIABLE, IN VIEW OF THE MANY PROBLEMS IT WOULD ENGENDER.

5. COMMENT: IN A NUMBER OF PUBLIC STATEMENTS ON NATO, FONMIN OREJA AND OTHER GOS AND UCD LEADERS HAVE ALLUDED

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TO THE NEED FOR SPAIN TO DEFINE THE SPECIFIC NATURE OF ITS FUTURE NATO PARTICIPATION. BUT ARIAS SALGADO'S EXPLICIT EMPHASIS ON THE NEED TO REACH SOME COMPROMISE SOLUTTON WITH THE LEFT IS A NEW WRINKLE, AND MAY REFLECT THE POINT OF VIEW OF SECOND VICE PRESIDEET ABRIL, TO WHOM HE IS VERY CLOSE. IN VIEW OF RUPEREZ' DISAGREMENT WITH ARIAS SALGADO, IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW WIDELY SHARED THIS PERSPECTIVE IS WITHIN THE UCD LEADER-SHIP, NOR WAS IT ENTIRELY CLEAR FROM ARIAS SALGADO'S PRESENTATION WHAT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD TAKE TO BRING THE . LEFT ALONG. THE POSSIBILITIES MIGHT RANGE FROM A PROHIBITION ON THE STATIONING OF FOREIGN TROOPS ON SPANISH SOIL, THROUGH A REFUSAL TO EMPLOY SPANISH TROOPS ANYWHERE OUTSIDE SPAIN. TO SOME FORMULA FOR LESS THAN COMPLETE INTEGRATION OF SPAIN IN THE ALLIANCE, ALTHOUGH IT IS FAR FROM CLEAR AT THIS JUNCTURE THAT ANY CONFIDENTIAL

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OF THESE CONCESSIONS WOULD BE A SUFFICIENT SWEETENER FOR THE LEFT. IN ANY CASE, THE DIFFERENT SIGNALS WHICH CON-

TINUE TO EMANATE FROM UCD ON THIS ISSUE INDICATE THAT SUAREZ STILL HAS MADE NO FINAL DECISION ON NATO, EITHER IN TERMS OF THE TIMING OF THE DEBATE OR ITS SUBSTANCE. IN APRIL HE TOLD THE PRESS NATO MEMBERSHIP IS THE "BEST SOLUTION", BUT NOT THE ONLY ONE. HE SPECIFICALLY LEFT OPEN THE QUESTION OF THE PRECISE FORM OF SPAIN'S MILITARY INTEGRATION IN THE ALLIANCE (MADRID 4236, DTG 201142Z APR 78). EATON

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